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The campus, a fortress of democracy

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THE CAMPUS

A FORTRESS OF
DEMOCRACY

by JOSEPH P. LASH

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Report to the Third Annual Convention of the American Student Union at Vassar College. The report of the National Secretary of the American Student Union is an effort to summarize the past policies of the Union and indicate new policies. It should be supplemented by a reading of the program and resolutions passed at the convention. These can be obtained from the National Office, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

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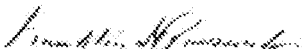
December 18, 1937

My dear Mr. Lash:

It is encouraging to find that there are students sufficiently ardently elected to devote five days of their brief Christmas holiday to a discussion of our country's social and economic problems. The ardor of our country, especially the college and university, now expressions of democracy's interest in youth. The fact that large groups of students, on their own initiative, are taking up national problems is evidence that our institutions of learning are getting results. So long as our printing presses, radioes and soundies are kept free I do not have any great anxiety about the future success of our democratic system.

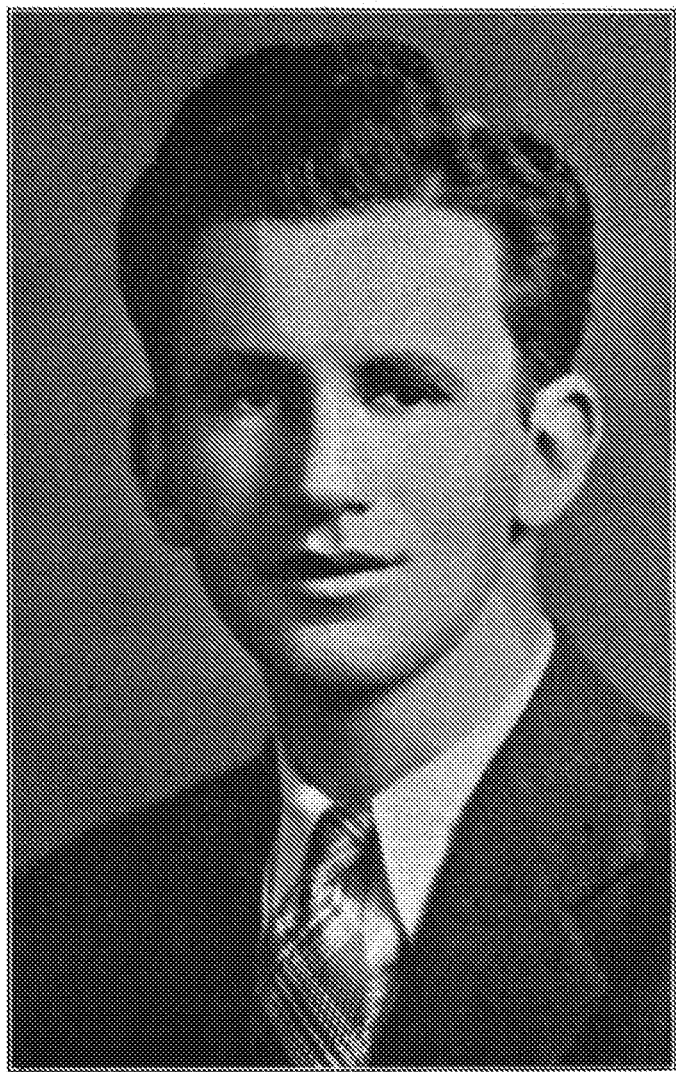
The frankness of point of view of youth should make your discussions especially valuable not only to the youth of the country but to the country as a whole. I send hearty greetings to your convention and sincere hopes that your deliberations will be fruitful in making our schools and colleges a genuine fortress of democracy.

Very sincerely yours,



Mr. Joseph P. Lash,
National Secretary,
American Student Union,
112 East Nineteenth Street,
New York, N. Y.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT GREETES THE A.S.U.



JOSEPH P. LASH
National Secretary of the American Student Union

THE CAMPUS:

A Fortress of Democracy

BY JOSEPH P. LASH

IT USED TO BE SAID that college and school, instead of being windows through which the student looked out upon the world with sharpened eyes, were really feudal walls that shut him off from the world. If the depression and the distant threat of war sapped the barriers between school and society, the developments of the last few months have not only breached those barriers, but engulfed the campus with a plenitude of problems. Students once were smug; they were indifferent; they made a pose of their cynicism. Today they are worried; they throng the lecture room searching for answers; they even look into their textbooks to see whether past generations had similar difficulties.

We shall not try to enumerate all the historical forces that have caused this profound change in the temper of the student body. Two, however, are basic: the formation of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance for war and fascism, and the economic recession. The wars this unholy alliance already have inspired in Spain and China have made world enslavement, world war, world catastrophe, no longer academic matters, remote in space and history, but immediate and urgent, threatening our very lives. It is as if a plague that had been raging in distant parts of the globe suddenly descended upon this campus. The consolidation of the war alliance has transferred the problem of war from the headlines into our lives. You may remember the lines:

*But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near, . . .*

It is no exaggeration to say that today lurking at the back of every student's mind is the fear of a coming, nameless, intangible doom.

If this deterioration in international stability is the dominating factor influencing student thought, not far behind it is the economic crisis, a crisis that has been accentuated by the efforts of reaction to shatter the gathering of progressive forces in this country. Even talk and rumor of a recession is having disastrous effects upon the thoughtways of the whole student body. It is shattering the faith of the undergraduate in the stability and permanence of the social system. The student must plan his future. His family must invest a certain amount of money in his education. But planning is not possible amid the planlessness and instabilities of an economic system that only six months after the initial hosannahs to a new prosperity were launched goes into a sinister tailspin. We are not gloating over this development—we record it here as an objective factor affecting student attitudes.

Before 1929 it was normal for an undergraduate to dream of becoming a corporation executive, a highly paid engineer, a great banker, a holder of stocks. The 1929 crash tempered these aspirations. Our present student generation would be quite content with much less—a job, a home, and enough money with which to have some fun. The effects of the present economic tailspin and the war crisis are to spread the fear that even these humble aspirations will not be granted by our system. The developments of the last few months have shocked students into the realization that there is no escape from politics and economics. There is a growing realization that to avert what seems to be an impending catastrophe we have to stand up and fight back the forces that are plunging the world into another dark ages. We wish to emphasize this point:

the wars raging in the world, the fall in the business index, *have politicalized the campus, not part of the campus, but the whole campus.*

That is the reason for this, the largest convention in the history of the progressive student movement. That is why greater throngs than ever before are turning out to the local meetings of the American Student Union. That is what accounts for the emphasis on social action in the Y's. That is the explanation of the growth of the Catholic Student Peace Federation. The campus is actively searching for leadership. It gives the American Student Union great pleasure that at the present moment hundreds of other students are meeting to consider similar problems. We extend our most cordial salutations to the magnificent assembly of the Student Christian Movement being held in Ohio. We hope that the National Student Federation, meeting in New Mexico, the Wesley Foundations meeting in St. Louis, and the American Medical Students Association in Chicago, will arrive at decisions fruitful to our generation. All these organizations are the foundation of the broad progressive front that has been forged on the campus in recent years, a solidarity which obtains its most concrete expression in the United Student Peace Committee. To the latter we pledge our continued support and loyalty.

It is mainly to the American Student Union that the eyes of a disturbed and concerned student body are looking. They will examine the decisions of this convention for their clarity, for their realism, and for their courage. If we fail them now other forces will attempt to utilize the politicalization of the campus. The nature of these forces we can learn from the sprouting of such organizations as the United Scions of Aristocracy—an effort to ridicule the A.S.U., the Franklin-for-King Clubs, and the swastika-boys at the University of Delaware. Unless we extend and strengthen the progressive student front, these forces will ride over the campus like the Four Horsemen

of the Apocalypse. We call upon the delegates to remember at all times their serious responsibilities. When we speak we do so, not merely to those who are assembled here, but to the whole student body of the United States.

Let us affirm at the outset some simple truths: the interests of the American Student Union are inseparable from those of peace; the interests of the American Student Union are inseparable from those of democracy and the widest equalization of opportunity; the interests of the American Student Union are inseparable from those of the advancement of science and learning and to their diffusion among the widest masses of people. Our Student Union is dedicated to the service of our student generation, of our educational system, of our people. It is this identity of aspiration that is the basis not only of our own unity, but is the foundation of the growing unity of all the progressive forces in the educational system.

Two years ago we founded the first united organization of democratic, left-wing and progressive forces in the country. We were proud of that achievement. Today disciples of despair are arising who not only are casting doubts upon the desirability of that unity, but who are working to undermine it. They become romantic about "the good old days." They long for the intellectual certainty of talking to oneself. Lacking confidence in themselves they of course lack it in the student body. Let this convention composed of the stalwarts of the American Student Union, from high school and college, who know by the meetings they have held, by the demonstrations they have organized, by the campaigns they have executed, by the work and sacrifice they have contributed to student unity and progress—let this convention give its answer now to those who have lost faith. Everything for the American Student Union! Everything through the American Student Union! We will remain united and we will extend that unity to embrace all the forces of goodwill on the campus! The A.S.U. is not the pawn of any

political organization. This convention representing the thousands of members of the A.S.U. will decide the program for the coming year. It is that program which those who desire to build the progressive student movement will carry out.

This convention has three tasks. First it must re-examine the fundamental policy of the American Student Union to determine the changes in policy that altered circumstances require. The importance of policy, however, is contingent upon the will and ability to carry out that policy. Our second task, therefore, is to find out why so much of our program, over which there is and has been no disagreement, has remained on paper. How we carry out our program; how we plan a campaign; how we work with other campus organizations; how we mobilize the resources of a campus for a policy—these are problems the American Student Union has not completely solved and which this convention must spend most of its time answering. In this connection we heard of a proposed chapter of the A.S.U. in the South in which a group of campus intellectuals went to another group of students who were likewise interested in starting an A.S.U. and said: "We will be the idea-men and you will carry out the ideas." We do not recognize any such caste system in the A.S.U. We have no distinction between queen bees and drones. We do not separate ideas and actions. We are interested in ideas in action and we want men and women who embody ideas in action. Those who can discuss changes in the program of the A.S.U. with the greatest validity are those who have worked with the student body to carry out that program and have confidence in the student body. This convention is not a bull session on the state of the world, and the American Student Union is not a debating society. We urge upon the delegates in all the discussions to remember they are formulating policies whose realization will help our generation achieve a better life.

The final task of our convention is one of domestic reorgani-

zation. It is one of dues, of district offices, of a membership campaign, of *kameradschaft* in the A.S.U. It must consider means whereby to build an A.S.U. in the South and in the high schools. It is an internal job of gearing up our machine and repairing its shortcomings.

The Student and Peace

A year ago, at our second convention at Chicago, a representative of the Federal Union of Spanish Students stood on our platform and pleaded with us to support the cause of the Spanish people, not out of idealistic altruism but because world peace and world democracy were at stake. Paradoxical as it seemed, the peace of Europe rested on the bayonets of the Spanish Republican Army. At the side of the delegate from Spain stood Loh Tsei, representative of the All-China Student Union, who warned us that Japan was threatening to march upon China. We did not think that by the time of this convention the thousands of students whom she represented would, like their Spanish comrades, be defending their lives and liberty with bayonets. These two events are not unrelated. Just as the success of aggression in the Ethiopian war brought on the fascist grab at Spain, so the apostasy of world democracy in the case of Spain led the Japanese to believe they could invade China with impunity.

The American Student Union is internationalist in outlook. It is bound by close ties to students throughout the world because the problems we confront today are world problems. The American Student Union has never adopted the attitude that the development of war and fascism abroad were of no concern to us and harbored no threat to our own security and democracy. There has been general agreement in the A.S.U. that our basic task in the present war crisis was to bring America's power for peace into play in the present situation. If there has been disagreement, it rested in the question of whether

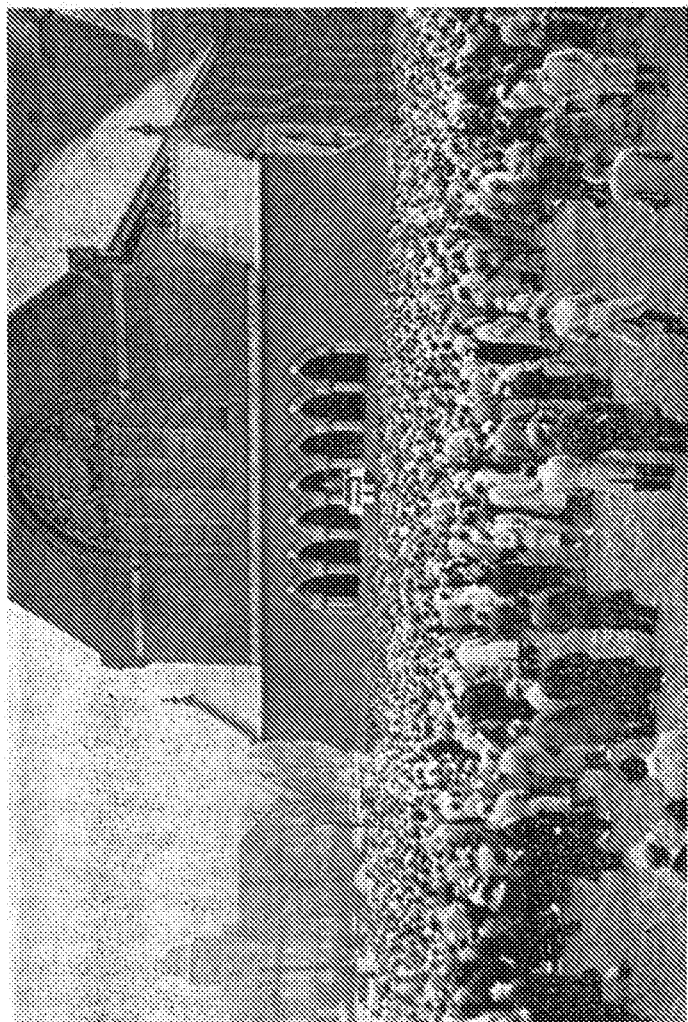
any confidence could be vested in our present government as a force for peace. The convention will decide this question. But we are certain that all the delegates here will approve our declaration that isolation is retreat before aggression and leads inevitably to world war. The American Student Union has declared that all the resources of the American student body must be mobilized against the makers of war, and that an international peace front must be welded out of the peoples of the world, a front as united and as powerful as the fascist war front.

The American Student Union believes, and the campus believes, that world war can still be prevented. All our efforts are bent toward averting the outbreak of that holocaust which spells the end of human civilization. We will not despair of peace. Our convictions, all our actions are motivated by the sincere and passionate aspiration to defend the peace we have and to help bring peace to the peoples that have been plunged into war by fascist aggression.

What specifically have we done in this connection? It is appropriate in the first place to pay tribute to the fifty or so students who quietly departed from our midst to join the International Brigade. The American Student Union did not send them to Spain. Few of us even knew they were going. But we are deeply proud of them—proud of the service records of our two N.E.C. members, George Watt and Paul MacEachron, and humble before those like Don Henry of the University of Kansas, Nate Schilling of Chicago University, Sam Levinger of Ohio State, Roy McQuarrie of Wayne, and others who have been killed in action. What can we say to them save our pledge that the American Student Union will not forget them and will demonstrate its remembrance by its deeds. In an age which pours scorn upon the symbols of civilization—justice, freedom, democracy, humanity—these fellow students of ours have revitalized those values for our generation.

What have we in the rearguard of the fight for world peace done? Harvard, Michigan, every New York college, have participated in the drive for a fleet of ambulances to send to Spain. At Smith, at Williams, at Vassar, at Swarthmore and at countless other places, we have raised money to help take care of the hundreds of thousands of refugee children in Loyalist Spain. Now we are engaged in raising enough money to send a truck to the Federal Union of Spanish Students, equipped with a loudspeaking apparatus and movie projection machine, by which it can carry on its work of popular culture among the soldiers. The Japanese invasion of China, which is of such great concern to America, has tended to eliminate Spain from our consideration. It has created a need for raising funds for China. We sympathize with this need, but there are other agencies doing this work as well as ourselves. We are the only student agency, however, that will raise funds for the Spanish students and for the Spanish people. We therefore urge upon you to keep alive the drive for funds for Spain and to place your primary energies upon this.

In our work for Spain we have been confronted with the feeling among a good many students that the neutrality law was rightfully invoked. This was reflected sharply in the discussion of the call for the peace strike of last April in which the A.S.U. demanded a condemnation of fascist aggression in Spain and a lifting of the embargo on arms to the legitimate Spanish government. We urged upon isolationist organizations such as the Student Peace Service and the National Student Federation of America, that even if they could not see our point of an embargo upon arms to Franco and sending arms to the legitimate government, at least they could join with us in demanding that the embargo be extended to Italy, Germany and Portugal, equally aggressors in Spain. We were unsuccessful last spring and we were compelled to dramatize our recognition that the fate of world peace was intimately



HARVARD STUDENTS STRIKE FOR PEACE

bound up with the fate of the Spanish people by our strike slogan: "We fast that Spain may eat."

The events of the summer, the Nyon conference, changed the isolationist climate of opinion and the Armistice Day declaration of the United Student Peace Committee accepted the American Student Union point of view, calling for an embargo upon Italy, etc., if these nations did not agree to withdraw their armed units from Spain.

The Campus Boycotts Japanese Goods

The isolationists now have shifted their main attention to the Far East. But in the case of the Japanese invasion of China we are confronted with an even clearer instance of the peace of the world being endangered by fascist aggression. At the first meeting of the National Executive Committee of the American Student Union to be convened in the fall, we called upon the students of the nation to undertake a boycott of Japanese goods. We wrote to the World Student Association and the International Alliance of Students for Socialism recommending such action internationally. How effective that boycott has been we can learn from the internal bulletin of the silk manufacturers which places the whole blame for the decline in the purchase of silk products upon silly college students with no sense of responsibility. That is a tribute to our work. However, we know we have not reacted as well as the situation demands. Many American Student Union chapters have undertaken no action on the boycott; others have confined the movement to their own chapters; only in rare instances has the A.S.U. persuaded the local peace committee to sponsor the boycott movement. If the boycott movement has spread through the colleges it has done so because of the loathing and contempt in which the Japanese military clique is held by the student body, and because of the growing realization by students that they must act to forestall the spreading of war.

Japan may have conquered Shanghai and Nanking, but she will not consolidate her victories because the Chinese people will not be slaves. We can assist the Chinese people. We can help keep America out of war by this economic weapon of the boycott. Throughout the world students have launched the boycott campaign and now it is beginning to be felt. This convention must launch the drive to obtain unanimous support for the boycott movement on the campus. Make the slogan of your campus: "Wear lisle for a while."

The United Student Peace Committee is initiating intercollegiate conferences throughout the country in the months of January and February. They are being launched under the banner of making America a force for peace. One of the jobs of the A.S.U. in these conferences will be the popularization of the Japanese boycott.

We can do more than this. We are told that a Japanese "goodwill" envoy is touring the universities of the United States. He has come to persuade us to condone invasion and its attendant horrors. We will not allow him to broadcast his apologies unchallenged. We want no apologies. We want Japan to get out of China. And we want these "goodwill" envoys who are so devoted to the brotherhood of man to go home and demand that their government get out of China. Let the "goodwill" envoys spread some of their goodwill among the members of the Japanese military clique. Let them unite with the 300-odd true representatives of the Japanese people who have been thrown into Japanese jails because of their advocacy of goodwill and peace.

We have often spoken of what we, the war generation, will do as war becomes likely. War today is imminent, imminent for the whole world, and we must be vigilant and aroused as never before. Some people feel that demonstrations in front of Japanese consulates are in bad taste. We do not agree with them. One cannot express indignation by sweetness and light.

One cannot express opposition by resolutions of regret. The student peace movement has a tradition of color, of struggle, of militancy. We not only endorse the action of the hundreds of New York A.S.U.'ers who picketed the Japanese consulate, but we say: "More of it." So long as we remain acquiescent and quiet the Japanese people are being told by their consuls and ambassador that America is really not concerned over what Japan is doing in China. We are concerned; and let Japan know it. That means demonstrations at consulates; that means boycott; that means making our strike a condemnation of Japanese aggression.

Some people retreat in horror and say, "You make no distinction between the Japanese people and the Japanese military clique." We do. But we do not believe that the way to help the Japanese people is to allow the groups that are exploiting them now, the groups that have plunged them into war, to get away with what they are doing. Along that road there is only more war, more exploitation, more horror.

Campus Militarism Is Campus Toryism

The obvious war-making role of the fascist war alliance should not delude us into assuming that our government is a lamb on the world scene. We must be vigilant about our own government. We must be vigilant against the groups that are dictating a policy of inaction against aggression, of skyrocketing military budgets, of preparations for M-Day.

This demonstrates itself most concretely in our own lives in terms of the R.O.T.C. which we know to be an instrument of reaction and not of peace. We are concerned with the aggressiveness of fascism, but we are also concerned with the militaristic policies of our government. The fight against the R.O.T.C. must be continued. The fight against the war budget must be continued. The fight against M-Day must be continued. The role of the military apparatus in America is reactionary

and fascist. When the editor of the *Vassar Miscellany* spoke at the Armistice Day meeting in a Poughkeepsie high school she met opposition from the Reserve Officers Association. At Purdue the R.O.T.C. supplied the information to a campus newspaper in order to attack falsely your national secretary and the A.S.U. as communist. The Tories favor the maintenance and extension of the military apparatus because the philosophy of the latter is anti-democratic and anti-equalitarian. The philosophy of our military is one of defense of privilege and caste and, in the end, of fascism and war.

In light of this, how many of our chapters have undertaken campaigns to combat militarism in education? How many have tried to organize campaigns, such as at Berkeley, to make R.O.T.C. optional? How many have made special efforts to bring R.O.T.C. members into the A.S.U.? On those campuses where R.O.T.C. is compulsory obviously there are many students taking *mili sci* whose aspirations are progressive and who belong with us. We urge these students to come into the A.S.U. One of our central objectives in the coming months should be the campaign for the Nye-Kvale Bill and other efforts to eliminate all forms of militarism from education.

Compulsory R.O.T.C. exists on about 150 campuses. While it is there it propagates doctrines such as—

"Democracy is a government of the masses . . . results in mobocracy; attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights; results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

The R.O.T.C. teaches anti-labor doctrines as the exam we uncovered at Berkeley last year so amply proved. Our campaign against R.O.T.C. must not be merely the negative one of abolition. We should undertake to work with the people in the R.O.T.C. courses so as to combat every effort to broadcast reactionary doctrines. And there is a lesson we must

learn from Spain where the whole officer's caste turned against democracy and undertook its insurrection against the republican government.

Improving the Peace Strike

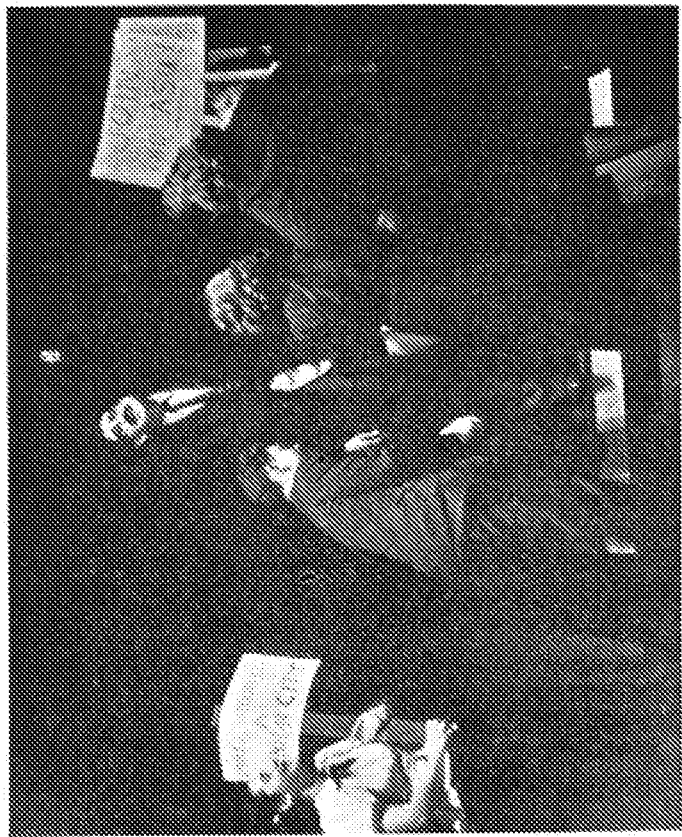
This convention is the place to assess the results of last year's strike. It is true that one million students participated in some fashion in the strike. It is true that the student peace movement has become so powerful that no one dares openly to oppose it. And yet, there were very obvious weaknesses in the strike. The strike has been affected by the general division in the peace movement. Some groups have tried to take advantage of this division to say that unity is no longer possible among the peace forces. In preparing the proclamation for Armistice Day in the United Student Peace Committee, for example, some of our friends were quite prepared to utilize their disagreement with us to say no basis for agreement could be found. Nevertheless, the proclamation which is included in your U.S.P.C. handbook was the basis for agreement.

In preparing for the coming strike, the chapters of the A.S.U. should consider it axiomatic that we can remain united in the peace movement and that there is a basis for unity. Such a basis is represented in a concrete policy with respect to China and Spain; a vigorous stand with respect to the R.O.T.C. and militarism in America; and support of policies that will make America a force for peace on the world scene. To improve the coming strike there must be concreteness in objectives. There will be opposition to our point of view on Spain and China; does that mean we retreat? Some of our chapters harbor the idea that the way to achieve unity is to make a formal presentation of one's position and then beat a hasty retreat before somebody takes us seriously. The way we work with the campus was well illustrated by Wayne University in last year's strike. The administration and a few campus people

undertook to circumvent a strike. The A.S.U. decided that unity should be achieved around the strike and not by sacrificing the latter. They had confidence in the student body and made it the arbiter of the issue. They flooded the campus with leaflets—well-written, handsomely illustrated, convincing leaflets, and Wayne University had a strike. We want to single out one throwaway that displayed resourcefulness and imagination. It showed a group of leading colleges, Smith, Harvard, N.Y.U., Michigan, all represented by raccoon-coated collegians holding their pennants high. These were the colleges preparing for the strike. Off on the side stood the Wayne collegian, his banner trailing sadly in the dust, isolated from the mainstream of the peace movement, unable to make up his mind whether or not to support the peace strike. It was one of the leaflets that did the trick. Yes, we cooperate loyally with other organizations. We work with administrations and are proud of the cordial relations now existing on many campuses between administration and the A.S.U. When there are disagreements, however, and they relate to matters of policy, affecting our generation, we bring those disagreements before the student body and place it before the latter for decision.

There was another basic weakness in last year's strike. Our stalwarts failed to realize that as the novelty of the strike wears off it becomes all the more important to introduce new elements of drama, new elements of color and that the actual strike demonstration itself must be carefully prepared. We cannot trust, as we once did, to the dynamics of opposition to make the strike thrilling.

Now we must use ingenuity. We must take a leaf from the book of our Vassar hosts where the administration and student body have cooperated for years in the peace movement. Songs, colorful banners, parades, appeals to the townspeople, these were the elements used by Vassar to make their peace activities colorful. In the coming strike against war we must



Photographed by Allan Harker

SCENE FROM "ACADEMIC EPIDEMIC" PRESENTED AT VASSAR A.S.U. CONVENTION
PART OF A.S.U. CULTURAL WORK-SHOP ACTIVITIES

all plan similar things. Otherwise our strike may prove a very dull affair. *Our problem of the strike in the colleges now is one of improving the quality of the strike and thereby enabling us to mobilize the student body as a whole for peace.*

In the high schools our problem has been somewhat different. The amazing response to our call for peace actions vindicates, in the opinion of many, our decision not calling for a strike. Others still deny that the best technique in the high schools is one of peace actions held on school grounds in cooperation with the school administration. In the high schools our primary problem is one of convincing the high school population that war is imminent and that peace is desirable and possible. The high school sessions will determine what techniques can best be employed to achieve these objectives.

We have devoted a good deal of time to the issue of peace; obviously much more can be said; but it is time to draw to a close. Our central objectives in the coming months in the struggle for peace are:

1. A campaign in support of Spanish democracy made concrete by the raising of funds.
2. The popularization of the boycott of Japan.
3. The fight against R.O.T.C. and American militarism.
4. Improving the quality of the strike against war and extending it to the general community.
5. The consideration of a legislative policy which we can support in Washington.
6. Support of the U.S.P.C. by carrying out its perspectives on local campuses and by consolidating the unity of the peace forces on local campuses.

Make America a Force for Peace!

Up to this point in this section on peace there has been general concurrence by the national staff. What we will say now,

we believe, represents the sentiments of a large section of the A.S.U., of many members of the staff. It represents my own position.

We can no longer subscribe to the Oxford Pledge of non-support to any war which the government may undertake. We consider it not only valueless in the present circumstances but actually a deterrent in the campaign for peace. Our concern is to keep America out of war; this demands a positive peace policy now. The Oxford Pledge talks fatalistically about what we will do when war comes. Our concern is with how to prevent war from spreading; how to maintain the peace we have; how to restore the peace that has been shattered by fascist aggression. The Oxford Pledge demobilizes this immediate struggle for peace.

With the fascists madly brandishing their war torches, the Oxford Pledge assumes that the main instigator of war today is the United States. Directing itself solely against the U.S. government it breeds the illusion that we can separate the struggle to keep the United States out of war from what is going on in the rest of the world. The fact that the advocates of the Pledge can laboriously reinterpret it to mean everything from opposition to militarism to freedom for colonial peoples only testifies to the Talmudic skill of its upholders.

The primary task of the peace movement today is not to intone sanctimoniously what it will do when war comes—making advance reservations for martyrdom—but to take action to forestall the conditions in which we have to choose between donning a uniform or marching off to a concentration camp. The Oxford Pledge has literally kept thousands of students out of the A.S.U. If it represented some rare vision of truth, there might be arguments for retaining it, but when it diverts attention from our real task, we say out with it.

We believe and the American student body believes that our country can be kept out of war if it snags out of its isolationist

dream world and acts to stop war now. It can do so along the lines indicated by President Roosevelt in his clarion call to action against the war-makers. At the present moment to make our basic objective—as some would have us do—to resist President Roosevelt's moves toward international cooperation against fascist aggression is tragically to underestimate the war-making role of the fascist war alliance; is to strengthen the camp of isolation; is to lead inevitably into that world war which we all fear. Only one policy can prevent our being involved in war and that is collective action to halt aggression. We have supported the international people's boycott against Japan. We must support an immediate embargo upon Japan. Every obstacle must be placed in the way of fascist aggression in the Far East.

In this hour so crucial to world peace, let us not be theologians arguing over texts.

*We stated last year in the case of Spain and we repeat it in the case of China: retreat before aggression does not enthrone goodwill in the world, does not insure peace, does not pave the way for justice. Only the creation of an international anti-fascist peace front, in which the leadership of the United States is essential, can assure these ends.**

The Economic Security of the Student

A year ago, at our Chicago convention, we pointed out that thousands of students were being lulled into a false sense of security by a temporary return of prosperity. We did not anticipate that by this convention the domestic situation would have become so serious that it would be dignified by the name of "recession." And the present fall in the business index is being aggravated by many Tory groups with their assault upon the progressive features of the New Deal and all progressive legislation.

* See the Appendix for the Convention Resolution on Peace.

At the recent meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, reaction drew up its platform for 1938. This platform declares against federal regulation of prices, hours, and wages. It comes out against the anti-trust laws, for the open shop, and for company unions. It urges the incorporation of trade unions and opposes any tax law which, as it is euphemistically placed, "reduce incentive to invest funds" and "policies which have the effect of redistributing wealth and income." This is the program which is being offered to us as a program that will bring the American people to a higher standard of living and more decent life! And this program found its echo in the abortive "Address to the American People" drafted by Republican and conservative Democratic Senators which, although it was squelched, clearly indicates the realignment that is taking place under the surface of everyday politics.

Together with these moves of the Tory class, we have the effort of the Republican Party to rehabilitate itself by appointing a national policy committee of 150, headed by Glenn Frank—our own paragon of polished platitudes whom we generously give to the Republican Party. It requires no amazing perspicuity on our part to predict that under a mass of sophistical verbiage its program will be similar to that of the National Association of Manufacturers. We do not have to characterize this program. Senator McNary, the Republican floor-leader himself, has declared that any Senator who signed a manifesto, such as proposed by the conservative Senators, would be classed by the whole country "as a Liberty Leaguer."

We present these moves because they represent the maneuvers of reaction to establish a united front—a united front which menaces the welfare of the youth of this country. Mr. Harold Mason, secretary of the Republican National Committee, in a moment of high optimism, after Glenn Frank was invited to be the chairman of the committee on policy, declared: "The thinking youth of America is returning to the Republican

Party." We deny this. We deny that the youth and student body of America will be won to any program of scarcity and planlessness, because that program is not to the interests of youth. Basically, such a program is opposed to any kind of economic planning, but at the same time that it demands freedom for exploitation and high profits, it urges government intervention against labor. While millions of people are ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed, this program calls upon us to "pity the poor bankers and manufacturers." It represents a concern for the privilege of the few and a brutal unconcern for the welfare of the common people.

Students Need N.Y.A.

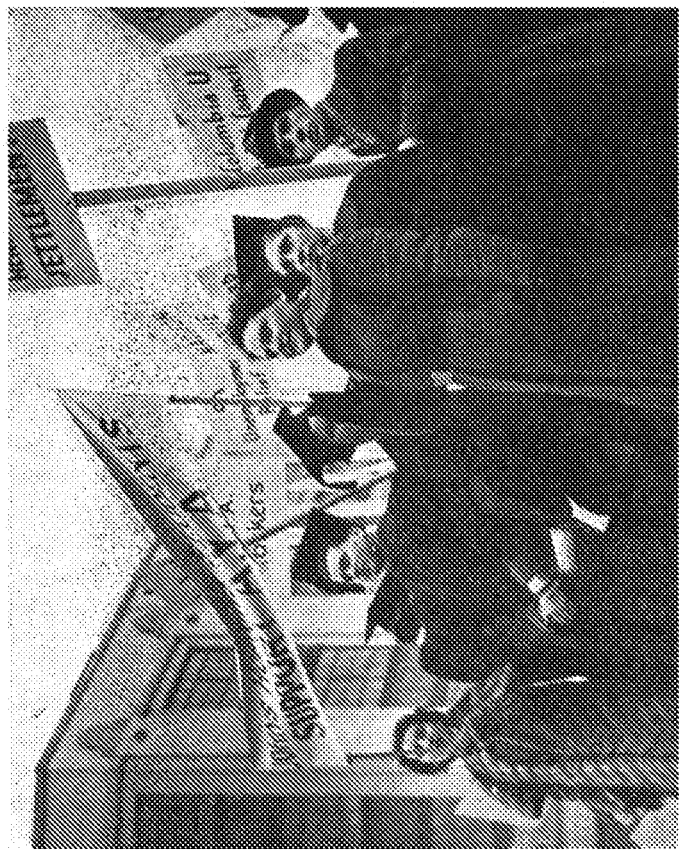
It has already had sad repercussions upon the lives of the student body. The barrage of the reactionaries against government spending has resulted in the cut of the N.Y.A. which this fall affected thousands of students upon the campus. We must frankly face the prospect at this convention that under the renewed drive of reaction, the N.Y.A. may be completely abolished. Does this mean that there is no longer a need for the National Youth Administration? You and I, who come from the campuses of this country, from the high schools of this country, know how helpful even the few dollars of N.Y.A. money has been to students desirous of continuing their education. The cut in N.Y.A. has one significance only. Reaction has laid down a more powerful barrage than we in Washington.

We are living in a very troubled period. Many demands are made upon us. Nevertheless, we must criticize ourselves for our failure to react adequately to the cut in N.Y.A. The American Youth Congress called for student demonstrations against the cut in N.Y.A. on October 14. First of all, we must criticize the Youth Congress, and ourselves as part of it, for having undertaken demonstrations at a time when school was just assembling and no adequate preparations could be made.

On the other hand, we must criticize ourselves for not doing even as much as was possible. Where were the editorials in the college press? Where were the telegrams of protest? Where have been the efforts to mobilize sentiment in the home districts of Congressmen and Senators? They have been virtually non-existent. The drive for the continuance and the extension of the N.Y.A., for the passage of the American Youth Act, must, upon our return to school and college, become one of our primary objectives. How can we expect elected officials to take our campaign for the American Youth Act seriously when we do not put up a victorious fight against the cut in N.Y.A.?

The American Student Union must return to the campus with careful plans for the work it will do in the campaign for the extension of the N.Y.A. and for the American Youth Act. This campaign must be planned in the framework of the coming legislative pilgrimage of the American Youth Congress. At our convention last year, we promised the Youth Congress that we could mobilize the student body for the pilgrimage. Those of you who were in Washington, D. C., will agree that the sinews of that demonstration were provided by the American Student Union. The pilgrimage this year has a broader perspective. It will not only demand the extension of the N.Y.A., but it will present a comprehensive legislative program on behalf of youth. Will the American Student Union support this pilgrimage? If we brought 2,000 to Washington last year, can we now promise the Youth Congress 5,000? Can we do more? Can we promise the Youth Congress that we will immediately get in touch with other campus organizations to call campus-wide meetings to consider the entire legislative program for the pilgrimage and to rally the campus for our trek to Washington?

Another way of campaigning against N.Y.A. cuts is the building of unions of those who are recipients of N.Y.A.



AMERICAN STUDENT UNION SUPPORTS A.P.A. PILGRIMAGE

assistance. We should not build them as adjuncts of the A.S.U. We would prefer them to be initiated by the joint efforts of the student council, the Y's, and ourselves. We mention these three organizations specifically because all of them support the campaign for the American Youth Act and have agreed to the desirability of forming unions of N.Y.A. workers.

To secure the economic well-being of the undergraduate we have centered our efforts around the campaign for the American Youth Act as an extension of the N.Y.A. We should not ignore the fact, however, that many thousands of students are working their way through college on jobs, not associated with the N.Y.A., as waiters, janitors, tutors, etc. We must give them help in the defense of their interests. We are glad to have at this convention representatives of the Student Workers Federation at the University of Michigan which has done such splendid work in this connection.

The technique for defense of student economic interests that has spread most widely, however, has been that of the cooperatives. Eating, rooming, book, laundry coops have sprouted throughout the country's colleges and universities. We have been glad to play a modest part in this movement. What we have done has been assisted by the volunteer work of Jim Newman of Wesleyan, whose recommendations for next year's work you will hear at the round table on coops.

Most of us are preparing ourselves to become teachers, physicians, architects, engineers, lawyers. We are preparing for some kind of professional career. But if the masses of people lack money with which to purchase professional services, we might just as well prepare ourselves for the breadlines. All of us have heard the familiar wail—"that profession is overcrowded." Is the medical profession, for instance, overcrowded? Are we a nation of healthy Adonises? The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care has reported that

over 40 per cent of the families with incomes of \$2,000 and under receive no medical, dental or eye care. And this holds true for most of the professions. There is a need for our services, but so long as our economic system will not increase the purchasing power of the common people there will be overcrowding in the professions. We must oppose the program of reaction, a program of scarcity, devastating to the interests of our generation and the people as a whole. And common interests dictates our support for a general people's program of security.

Education

Reaction's united front is having another effect upon our lives and destinies—one menacing to our educational system. It is represented by many developments, but it has received its most honest formulation in a speech by a college president. George B. Cutten, president of Colgate University, at the meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, delivered himself of the following:

"Standing here today I can think of nothing that is less self-evident than that all men are created free and equal. . . . The registrars of universities, the personnel men in your industries, know nothing of equality. Men are not equal as far as race is concerned; they are not equal as far as family is concerned; nor are they equal as individuals."

President Cutten went on to lament that:

"We are getting our population from those who have not very much intellectual ability, the proletariat. And who are they, who are the proletariat? They are the lowest class. They were the lowest class in Rome and the only service they could render the state was that they could produce offspring."

The next remark will embarrass some of the delegates:

"As you know the graduates of Harvard, the graduates of Vassar, the graduates of our universities are not reproducing themselves

at the present time. Any increase in population that we get comes from those who have the least intelligence. . . . God is a reactionary. I know he hasn't an open mind, not at least toward some of the half-baked theories of the present time. He does things just about as he did 10,000 years ago."

This is the frank philosophy of the Tories. How does it reflect itself in our educational system?

Consider the Johnson plan which has rightly created such a furore in Chicago. This is a plan that would convert the Chicago high school system into a vocational school system, by eliminating general education and only preparing students for their "proper" place as workers on the factory belt. The assumptions of the Johnson plan are precisely those indicated by President Cullen. There are those of breeding, and then there is the mob! Why try to educate the mob for anything but its place! Why assume that everybody is good enough to go to college! We are not attacking the dignity of labor and human toil when we attack the Johnson plan. We strenuously oppose an educational program that would stratify American life. Democracy is based upon the widest availability of education, of an education that is not of one kind for workers and another kind for the privileged classes. We stand in this by the faith and works of Thomas Jefferson.

President Hutchins of Chicago is a gentleman seriously concerned with the quality of education. Sometimes his arguments and approach become a weapon for the reactionaries. For example the title of his current series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post*, "We Are Getting No Brighter," is the sort of thing Dr. Cullen would wag his head to. Dr. Hutchins declares: "There are almost as many schools as there are hot dog stands." One can legitimately criticize mass production in education for several reasons—for example because quality suffers. Others, however, object, because they see the world as divided between aristocracy and *hoi polloi* and see no point

in educating the latter. We are glad that Dr. Hutchins has come out for the extension of educational opportunity, against loyalty oaths, etc.

Education suffers immediately at a moment of economic crisis because most people in the privileged classes consider education not only to be quite a luxury for workers, but actually as a source of danger to privilege. When people go to school they develop minds of their own and that makes them less available as cheap labor. There is obviously a relationship in the South between its lower standards of living and its lower standards of education. And today contemporary with the fall in the business index the outcry is again heard for the curtailment of that education which is the proudest badge of American democracy. The success of such a drive imperils the bases of democracy in the United States.

In this connection it is interesting to point out the position of labor. The Committee for Industrial Organization, at its conference in Atlantic City, declared:

"The extension of education and culture is of vital concern to the progressive labor movement, and essential to the realization of its aims. . . . It is consistent with democratic government to assure the benefits of education and cultural enlightenment to all."

Likewise, the American Federation of Labor, at its convention in Denver, said:

"We urge education committees of all affiliated bodies to assist teachers in securing democratic working conditions and in providing schools which shall exemplify, in their structure and operation, the fundamental principles of American democracy."

"Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively."

In our campaign to keep education true to the ideals of American democracy, in our campaign to carry out a program

for American education, our most reliable ally will paradoxically prove to be not the aristocrats of culture like Dr. Cutten, but his much despised "proletarians," the labor movement.

A Program for American Education

One of the basic tasks of this convention, in light of these drives to curtail and distort the function of education, will be to draw up a program for American education. That program will deal with three problems: the availability of education; the content of education; and the control of education. Time has been set aside for deeper consideration of these problems and, therefore, we shall not go into them at length now. We would like, however, to indicate how at Chester High School, in Pennsylvania, students felt so strongly about the need for a larger school that with the help of our Swarthmore Chapter they organized a strike around this issue and thereby persuaded the local school board to undertake action to get a new high school.

We also would remind our Philadelphia people how at the last convention we congratulated them on raising the issue of a free city college for Philadelphia. We asked them what they had done to carry out their program for a free city college? The reply was somewhat embarrassing, but high resolutions were made about what they would do in the coming year. Here we are at another convention. The need for a free city college in Philadelphia is as acute as it was last year, but the Philadelphia A.S.U. still has done very little on this issue. We can draw up the best and most enlightened program for American education that we desire, but unless the chapters sit down, map out carefully how that program applies to their local campus, and how they will mobilize support for their program, we have wasted our time.

We would like to make one suggestion concerning the content of education, particularly with reference to the high

schools. The Wagner Labor Relations Act is part of the law of our land. How many high schools right now give courses to their students, many of whom will go into industry, built around the Wagner Labor Relations Act? Our high school section should make one of its main objectives during the coming year that of introducing courses in trade unionism founded upon the Wagner Labor Relations Act into all the high schools in the country.

In connection with the content of education, we might point out that it has always been one of the boasts of the A.S.U. that we presented a side of the curriculum which usually could not be found in the class room. We would propose to all our chapters that they organize a series of lectures in the coming year, under the general heading of "Not in Your Textbooks," and obtain competent speakers to take up various courses in the curriculum—economics, history, philosophy, anthropology, to present that side of those courses which American education, dominated as it is by a sympathy for the *status quo*, usually omits.

The American Student Union is not a philistine organization. We do not, in our efforts to achieve peace and a life of greater security, ignore the cultural heritage of contemporary American civilization. Indeed, without smugness we declare that we are the upholders of the best in the American educational system. We take the values expressed in our textbooks seriously. We try to relate those ideas and values to contemporary life. We are proud that every selection of Rhodes scholars since the American Student Union was founded has included a fair percentage of members of the American Student Union, and we extend our congratulations to Jerry Himelhoch of Harvard, and to Marshall Wolfe of Williams College, delegates from their respective chapters, who have just been awarded Rhodes scholarships, as well as to Lee Armistead of Yale and Kermit Gordon of Swarthmore.

A.S.U.'ers who have also just won the award. If you examine the rolls of Phi Beta Kappa in the last three years, you will find a large percentage of them to be members of the American Student Union. There is no conflict between work in the A.S.U. and a life of real scholarship. We will make so bold as to say that the most fruitful approach to one's under-graduate education is through the American Student Union.

Students and Labor

We have already indicated the close ties that the American Student Union has with labor. This is true not only in our efforts to make education serve democracy, not only in our fight for the American Youth Act which has been endorsed by the C.I.O., but in many other aspects of our program. Our programmatic declaration reads:

"In a larger sense the ends which the A.S.U. has set for itself cannot be secured by students alone, nor within the confines of the campus. Our struggles inevitably take us to the sources of power, the legislative halls, and behind them the inner oligarchy (of high finance, industry and politics). Our struggles will demonstrate our community of interest with trade union and farmer groups who, just because they are the chief victims of exploitation by the inner oligarchy, are the mainsprings of social change."

Is it not about time that we did more than pay lip-service to this bond that we have with the trade union movement? In the coming year one of our basic objectives should be to build up our ties with the labor movement for one of the chief aims of the A.S.U. is to prevent that divorce between the middle class and the labor movement which is the basis of fascism.

How do we build up our relationships with the American labor movement? By helping it in its struggle for better conditions. We would like to pay special tribute to Cornell members of the American Student Union who travelled 80 miles to deliver several tons of coal to the Elkland strikers. We must

mention the splendid work of the Harvard Labor Committee in helping the C.I.O. in New England. The C.I.O. has just announced its intention to organize janitorial and service employees in the colleges. The American Student Union will support that drive. Members of the A.S.U. can assist the trade union movement by helping in workers' education, by distributing leaflets, by focussing attention on bad spots like Elkland and Jersey City. If we do these things the trade unions will give us support. The flock of telegrams we have received from leading trade union figures already indicates how much labor looks upon us as its ally in the colleges.

With the support of the labor movement we can build a powerful high school A.S.U. In a city like Detroit, we can approach the United Automobile Workers of America and work out jointly with them a plan whereby the sons and daughters of auto union members in the Detroit high schools would come into the A.S.U. and be taught the principles of trade unionism. This involves careful and patient work. It means preparing material that can be distributed through union channels to union members. It means endeavoring to get articles on the work of the A.S.U. into the publications of trade union locals. It means organizing meetings jointly with leaders of the U.A.W.A. It means forgetting our old notion of cooperation with trade unions which was limited to getting the endorsement of a few trade union leaders. That is not our objective. If our high school civics courses will not teach about the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the A.S.U. will.

The Student and Progressive Political Action

Our cooperation with the trade union movement, our efforts in general to mobilize the community behind our activities have already borne out our prediction that in the effort to achieve our objectives we will end up in the legislative halls. Our campaigns for the Nye-Kvale Bill, for the American Youth

Act, for the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, for the anti-lynching bill, for local youth acts have indicated the close ties we have with politics. In point of fact, the pressures we already have utilized for our objectives have represented forms of political action.

Shall the A.S.U. enter politics in the sense of supporting candidates and parties? We cannot answer this question without first summarizing some of the recent relevant developments in national and local politics, particularly the emergence of a progressive political movement. Progressive political action is manifesting itself in many forms: there are such movements as the Washington and Oregon Commonwealth Federations, firmly anchored in the labor movement but embracing large sections of the middle class and farmers, running candidates under the Democratic label as well as their own. There is Labor's Non-Partisan League encouraging independent labor political action throughout the country. There is the Detroit Labor Party and the American Labor Party in New York which did not hesitate to support LaGuardia as a progressive although he was endorsed by the Republican Party. Any evaluation of the forms of progressive political action must take into account men like Maury Maverick and Jerry O'Connell, progressive Democrats. Although we need not spend any time on the well-known movements in Wisconsin and Minnesota, we should emphasize that the most powerful impetus to progressive political action has been the growth of the C.I.O. and the general growth of the labor movement to 8,000,000 members.

This vast development, signs of which already were in evidence at our first convention, has had its impact upon the A.S.U. In New York City, for example, Tammany undertook to prove that the educational system had gone Red under Mayor LaGuardia. It did so by invoking the evidence that the Board of Higher Education was considering giving recog-

nition to the A.S.U. in the city colleges. It is true that the Board of Higher Education has had this matter under review and it is scandalous that it has delayed as long as it has in according us normal democratic rights; it is equally true that the High School Principals' Association is investigating the possibility of recognizing the A.S.U. in the high schools.* And these things reflect the growth in power of the progressive political movement in New York City. But how then can we say that the development of progressive politics is of no concern to the A.S.U.?

In the last New York election it was unfortunately true that, while 90 per cent of the student body was for Mayor LaGuardia, we could not undertake any action to give expression to these sentiments. Instead, mushroom organizations grew up on the campus for student political action which in some cases drew out of the American Student Union some of its most capable people. Such an American Labor Party club at the City College of N.Y. now is running candidates against the A.S.U. in the class elections.

With the growth of progressive political action, the American Student Union is now confronted with the question of whether students can articulate their support of progressive political action through the A.S.U. or must do it through other channels. We have encountered this problem in Wisconsin and in Minnesota where there are farmer-labor clubs and progressive clubs as well as American Student Union chapters. This in many cases weakens the American Student Union. It weakens the whole progressive movement.

This convention must decide whether it can undertake political action. Can it undertake such political action without endangering the unity of the American Student Union? Can we remain indifferent to whether individuals like Governor

* At its meeting on January 17, 1933, by a vote of 17 to 2 the A.S.U. was granted this recognition.

Benson are re-elected or not. They have defended our interests; will we defend them? Can we remain indifferent to developments in the south around individuals like Maury Maverick that give the greatest promise for the inauguration of a southern progressive movement that will obviously have its reflections upon the campus?

In its most general terms, the issue that confronts us at the present moment is that reaction is consolidating its united front. In doing so it is crossing party lines. There are some who feel that when labor forms its own political party, only then can we support political action. Others believe that we, together with all the forces of progress in the United States, all the forces sympathetic to labor and its aspirations, all the forces sympathetic to the common people, must now build a common front. No one can be spared out of such a front, for all the resources of progress in this country must be mobilized if reaction is to be defeated in the coming Congressional elections. And we must here sound a note of alarm at the energetic, decisive steps reaction is taking to consolidate its program and its forces, and the slowness with which the progressive forces are reacting.

If we do not organize the student body for progressive political action, the other side will organize it for reaction. We need only point again to the United Scions of Aristocracy at Swarthmore, to the Franklin-for-King Clubs, to the dumping of C.I.O. organizers into the lake by Michigan State students, to the branding of students with swastikas at Delaware. These are storm signals. We can defeat reaction in the colleges if we present to the student body a positive program, a realistic program, one in which they can believe, and one which has a chance of success. This can only be done through rallying into a common front all the forces for progressive political action.*

* See the Appendix for the Resolution on Political Action.

Inside the American Student Union

It is two years since the American Student Union was founded. We have at the present moment 175 actual chapters in colleges and 70 chapters in high schools. We have contacts and are working with students in 297 colleges. It is chiefly a lack of funds which explains why we have not been able to develop these contacts.

Our greatest weakness at the present moment is in the South. Does this mean that the American Student Union cannot be built in the South? Our chapter at the University of Virginia was about to reach this conclusion when it decided to canvass all the dormitories and buttonhole students individually on the subject of the A.S.U. In a brief time they tripled their membership and we quote them when we say: "The A.S.U. has not failed in the South—it has never been tried." Certainly there are traditions of liberalism and progress as powerful and living in the Southern colleges as elsewhere. It is the job of the A.S.U. to help articulate those traditions and give them concrete expression.

In the Negro schools there is obviously need of the Union. The Negro students more than any other undergraduate group in the country need an organization which will help them carry on the fight for equality in all spheres, and primarily for the equality of educational opportunity. Some people express doubt whether Negro students can protect their interests through the A.S.U. The recent experience of building a chapter at Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, should prove helpful in answering this question. Our chapter there has, in a few weeks, made amazing strides. Every student has received some piece of A.S.U. literature. Half the student body has already indicated interest in some aspect of the A.S.U. program. The chapter has initiated a United Student Peace Committee. They have worked on the Anti-Lynching Bill. They are planning a Coop Bookstore. Now

they ask our assistance in combatting the vicious action of the theatre owners of North and South Carolina, which would bar Negro actors from appearing in any but character roles. We can assure them of our whole-hearted cooperation. Our Bennett College Chapter is not only proof of the possibility of building a vast progressive movement in the Negro colleges; it is an example of one of the best chapters of the A.S.U.*

Another weakness in the growth of the A.S.U. has been in our high school section. You may dispute this assertion because of the splendid high school delegation we have here at the convention, and we owe a great vote of thanks to the splendid work done by the New York City high school students under the leadership of Terry Levin. We wish to thank the high school principals who have given us their devoted cooperation and understanding and we bid them welcome to our discussions. This same welcome do we extend to the members of the Teachers' Union who have given up their holidays to be present.

A Progressive Movement in the High Schools

But, friends, outside of New York City there is no high school A.S.U. This convention should launch the drive to build a high school movement. We have already dealt with this in the section on the labor movement. It also relates to the proposals that will be made for the creation of district secretaries who will be responsible for building the high school as well as college movement.

And we must appeal to the college delegations to take an interest in the high school movement and to assign capable forces to help build chapters in the high schools. It is a matter of regret that the University of Chicago A.S.U. with its 300 members could not have a group of 25 working with the Chicago high schools. To our high school stalwarts, we say:

* See the Appendix for the Resolution on Negro Student Problems.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

1715 NEW YORK AVENUE NW.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

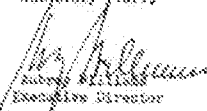
December 20, 1937.

Message of Greeting to the Third Annual Convention
of the American Student Union

There is nothing more heartening, in a current scene which presents many dark aspects, than the growing interest which American students are taking not only in their immediate campus problems, but also in the larger issues, so vital to our future, involved in the preservation of democracy and peace and in the economic adjustments which alone can make this possible.

The American Student Union has become in its few years of existence an important channel for the expression of progressive student opinion on these issues and for the coordination of effort in working toward these goals. I am glad to send you congratulations on your achievements and my best wishes for the success of your present conference.

Sincerely yours,


Robert H. Williams
Executive Director

MESSAGE OF GREETING FROM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF
NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

Speak up! Don't be buffaloed by the college men and women! We are certain that you will bring out of your sessions recommendations as mature and well-thought-out as those of your elder colleagues.

We have heard many fine comments about *The Student Advocate* at this convention. But you will agree that the *Advocate* still is not a magazine to achieve a mass circulation on the campus. We must undertake to develop our *Advocate* into a periodical that will appeal not merely to A.S.U.'ers but to the whole campus. The A.S.U. henceforth must publish a magazine that will be progressive in tone but that will also possess the attributes of the fiction weeklies and comic monthlies.

As one of the veterans in the student movement I wish to take this opportunity to single out Molly Yard, whose devotion and work in the Student Union have made her a leader in molding the progressive student front that we all desire.

Before concluding this report we will undertake briefly to sketch what we consider to be a model chapter of the A.S.U. In the first place it is one that gives imaginative and vigorous leadership to the student body on the great political issues confronting our generation—issues of peace, security, equality. It has cordial relations with all campus organizations; and has the respect, if not always the agreement, of the student body. It is on good terms with faculty and administration. No problem of the campus or school is alien to it. Its well-functioning organization reflects the diversity of students' interests. Attached to it is a cultural workshop. It is a center on the campus for stimulating cameraderie. Not only the campus intellectual, but the average student feels at home in this chapter. It knows the liberal resources in the community and can mobilize them promptly if the need arises. Its reaction time is fast when it gets a call from the National Office for action on some pressing issue. It carries on a

many-sided educational program, utilizing snappy and diverse techniques. It is regarded on the campus as the best place to learn the vocation of leadership. Finally it is run in a business-like way—dues are regularly collected, bills are paid, literature efficiently handled. In other words a model chapter is one that ably serves our student generation, our educational system, our country.

It is time for this report to come to an end. We are confronted with many troublesome problems. We are confronted with many difficulties and yet, in truth, they are not one-half so arduous as those that face the students in the All-China Student Union, or the member of the Federal Union of Spanish Students. Nothing we have to do will equal the sacrifices and devotion of the 50 American students in the International Brigade. We must work as we never have before. Those 50 students in the International Brigade are the sign that the A.S.U. is no longer just a heterogeneous gathering of various tendencies on the campus. They indicate that we are an organization in our own right with a great tradition, with our heroes and our legends. All our lives we have been brought up to venerate the symbols of humanity and civilization, from the time we learned the story of William Tell to the time we plumbed the deeper problems of mankind and the universe with Plato and Aristotle. But the truths these men have uttered, the values they represent, today are challenged. The old order cannot pay more than lip-service to human values and to truth because truth is on our side, not on that of privilege and the vested interests. That is why we grow. That is why those who were brought up in the traditions of honesty and equality and justice through our movement. Our belief in these values is our salvation.

APPENDIX

Resolution on Peace

We pledge the American Student Union's support to a program which will make the United States a genuine and active force for peace.

In answer to the urgent danger of world war and American involvement we favor immediate steps to restrain aggressor nations by contributing America's decisive influence in behalf of world peace.

1. We urge American leadership in naming aggressors and applying embargoes against aggressors and organizing these efforts through international collaboration. Such embargoes should include war materials, raw materials, loans and credits, but should definitely not include military sanctions.

We urge repeal or modification of the neutrality act so as to discriminate between aggressors and attacked and aiding those nations which are attacked.

2. We favor cooperation with all sections of American opinion in independent action against aggressors, emphasizing the boycott of Japanese goods, assisting trade unions in preventing manufacture and transportation of war supplies to Rebel Spain and Japan and in sending material aid to the Spanish and Chinese people.

3. We oppose preparations for war going on in the United States. In particular, we oppose M-Day plans which would establish a military dictatorship in the United States. We oppose the skyrocketing military budget and urge transfer of military funds to socially useful projects. We favor the Nye-Kvale bill to make R.O.T.C. optional.

4. We urge the withdrawal of United States military forces from all foreign countries.

5. We support the anti-war strike and will work to extend it to organized labor.

6. We support the Ludlow amendment that war should be declared only after a national referendum.

7. In order to encourage the free flow of goods among nations against whom no boycott exists, and to make it possible for these nations to obtain the raw materials they require, the American Student Union urges lower tariffs and endorses reciprocal trade treaties.

Resolution on Political Action

RESOLVED: That the American Student Union go on record as permitting local and regional autonomy in political action and urging endorsement and support of local candidates, this step to be taken after notification of the National Executive Committee.

Resolution on Negro Work

The following were the recommendations adopted by the Round Table on Negro Student Problems:

1. That Negro History Week, sponsored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in the second week of February, be used as a point of departure by the A.S.U. for activity on the Negro question.

Be it further resolved that chapters of the A.S.U. initiate a consistent educational program to bring to the entire student body information concerning the political, social, and economic aspects of American life as they affect the Negro.

As the first steps in such a program, we recommend:

1. Publication by the National Office of the A.S.U. of a bulletin which will include outlines for discussion, bibliography, and other pertinent material.
2. Formation of study groups by the A.S.U. chapters on the problems of the Negro people and the Negro students in America.
3. In those districts and regions where it is possible, committees on Negro student problems be established to give guidance to this work.

2. That the American Student Union actively support a legislative program consisting of the following points:

1. Passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill;
 - (a) Supporting on a national scale the demonstration for the Anti-Lynching Bill sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—February 11th.
 - (b) Sending petitions, telegrams and letters from the National Office, Districts, and Chapters to the U.S. Senate.

2. Abolition of the Poll Tax and all other restrictions which prohibit Negro citizens from exercising the right to vote.
3. Support of the Harrison-Black Bill with the amendment proposed by the National Coordinating Committee on the Bill. (The proposed amendment would insure that funds granted to the states for education would be distributed on the basis of need.)

3. That A.S.U. Chapters campaign for the inclusion of courses in Negro culture and history in the curriculum. Further, that chapters bring pressure on colleges and universities, especially tax-supported institutions, in order to secure the appointment of Negroes to the faculty.

4. That a Negro Student Problems Commission be established for the purpose of giving guidance to our work among Negro students on a national scale. This committee will be responsible to the National Executive Committee. It will be composed of five members, at least one of whom will be in New York, and will work in close cooperation with the National Staff and Administrative Committee.

5. That, recognizing the need for the establishment of active A.S.U. chapters among Negro high school students, the A.S.U. stress its work in aiding Negro high-school students to organize. Especially do we urge in this respect concentration in Harlem, the South Side of Chicago, and the South.

6. That A.S.U. chapters employ the following useful techniques in work among Negro students:

1. Establishing a close and cooperative relationship with Negro student organizations.
2. Bringing pressure to bear upon college editors for a correct approach to issues affecting Negro students.
3. Working with Negro students for test cases, when discrimination exists on the campus.
4. Conducting regular correspondence between Northern chapters and chapters on Negro campuses in the South.

7. That the A.S.U., in conjunction with other organizations on the campus work for the organization of a student conference in North Carolina, at which time a report of the Third Annual Convention should be given, and other issues pertinent to the locality discussed.

8. That the A.S.U. commend and support the action of the University of Chicago chapter in its campaign against discriminatory housing conditions for Negroes in the University community in Chicago. Further, that

chapters be urged to write letters to President Hutchins and to the *Daily Maroon*, university newspaper, protesting the stand which the university and the paper have taken on this matter.

9. That the A.S.U. go on record as endorsing the Southern Negro Youth Congress and that our chapters and members in the South work to organize student delegations for the next conference of this Congress to be held at Chattanooga, Tenn., April 1st, 2nd, and 3rd.

10. That the A.S.U. take action against the resolutions passed by the Theatre Owners Corporations in Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and most recently in North and South Carolina, which call for the banning of all movies in which Negroes appear "out of character."

(The resolutions of the Theatre Owners Corporations have defined "out of character" roles as meaning any parts which place the Negro on an equal basis with whites. This action has been fought most vigorously in North Carolina by the Bennett College chapter of the A.S.U.)

11. That the American Student Union support the activity of the Scottsboro Defense Committee which is still fighting to save the lives of the five innocent boys who remain in the jails of Alabama under threat of heavy sentences and death.

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